

SCOTLAND'S STORY



17

**The warrior king
behind a Golden
Age of Poetry**

**Flodden claims the
flower of Scotland**

**Renaissance glory
sweeps through
the royal palaces**

**The launching of
the Great Michael**

**Maxwell Garvie,
a victim of the
Swinging Sixties**



**BANK OF
SCOTLAND**

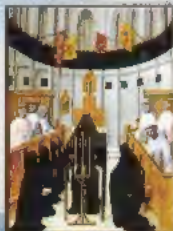
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ATLANTIC
OCEAN

1488

James IV is crowned at Scone. The funeral of his father James III is at Cambuskenneth the following day.



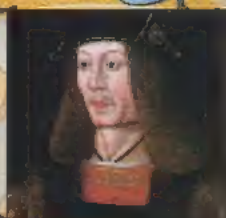
1493

James show his affinity with the sea by ordering every coastal burgh to build fishing boats of at least 20 tons.



1495

The start of the adult reign of James IV is marked by a smooth transfer of power, unlike his predecessors.



1497

James uses his power over the church to appoint his brother, the Duke of Ross, as Archbishop of St Andrews.



1500

The poet William Dunbar is bitter over being awarded a pension of just £10 by the king.



1507

James embarks on a six week pilgrimage, visiting Whithorn twice.



1503

James marries Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII at Holyrood.



1513

Death of James IV and the flower of Scottish nobility at the Battle of Flodden



1511

Launch of the Great Michael the pride of the Scottish Navy.



In Part 18:
James V: Exploiting the riches of the church

PART OF
IRELAND

North
Channel

PART
OF
ENGLAND



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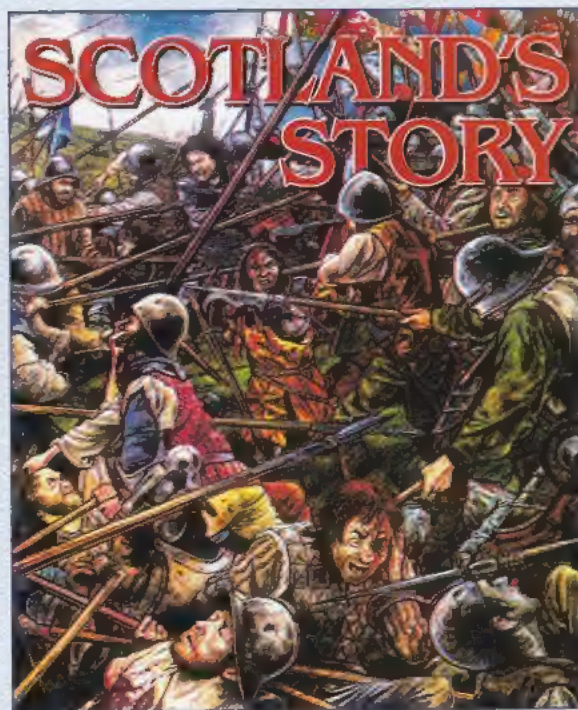
Far from respecting the body of the slain King James, the English victors of Flodden had him embalmed and passed his corpse round as a conversation piece.

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COMMENT



COVER: Taking no prisoners. Flodden was such a bitter struggle that neither side showed any quarter.

The grim reality of Flodden's field

The worst military defeat in Scotland's history is how many view the slaughter of the Battle of Flodden.

In the heat of the moment James IV fought his way to within a few feet of the Earl of Surrey, before being shot in the mouth by the Earl's archer.

James had already suffered terrible injuries. One hand was hanging by a strip of flesh, and his neck and shoulder bore a massive gash from an English bill-hook.

The flower of Scottish nobility was wiped out in the battle.

Yet the victors showed no respect for their vanquished foes.

James' body was embalmed, taken to London and passed around as a conversation piece.

Workmen later cut off the head, and it too became a trophy.

It was a barbaric and shoddy way to treat a true hero.

But at last there are hopes that excavations at the soon-to-be-demolished Standard Life building in London will yield the remains, and afford them a decent burial.

While James IV is rightly remembered as a fearless warrior, he was also highly cultured, and a force for

change. His reign witnessed the Golden Age of Scottish Poetry, as he personally financed hugely talented writers like William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas and painters like Alexander Chalmers.

He was a sponsor of the arts in all its forms. The renowned composer Robert Carver, who is credited with some of the finest liturgical music ever written, played at Stirling for the King.

He spent a fortune introducing Renaissance glories to Linlithgow and Holyrood Palaces, and virtually rebuilt Stirling Castle, including the Great Hall.

James' court became famous for its pageantry, rich ceremonial, and international jousting tournaments.

Small wonder he was so respected in an age when opulence was a measure of royal power.

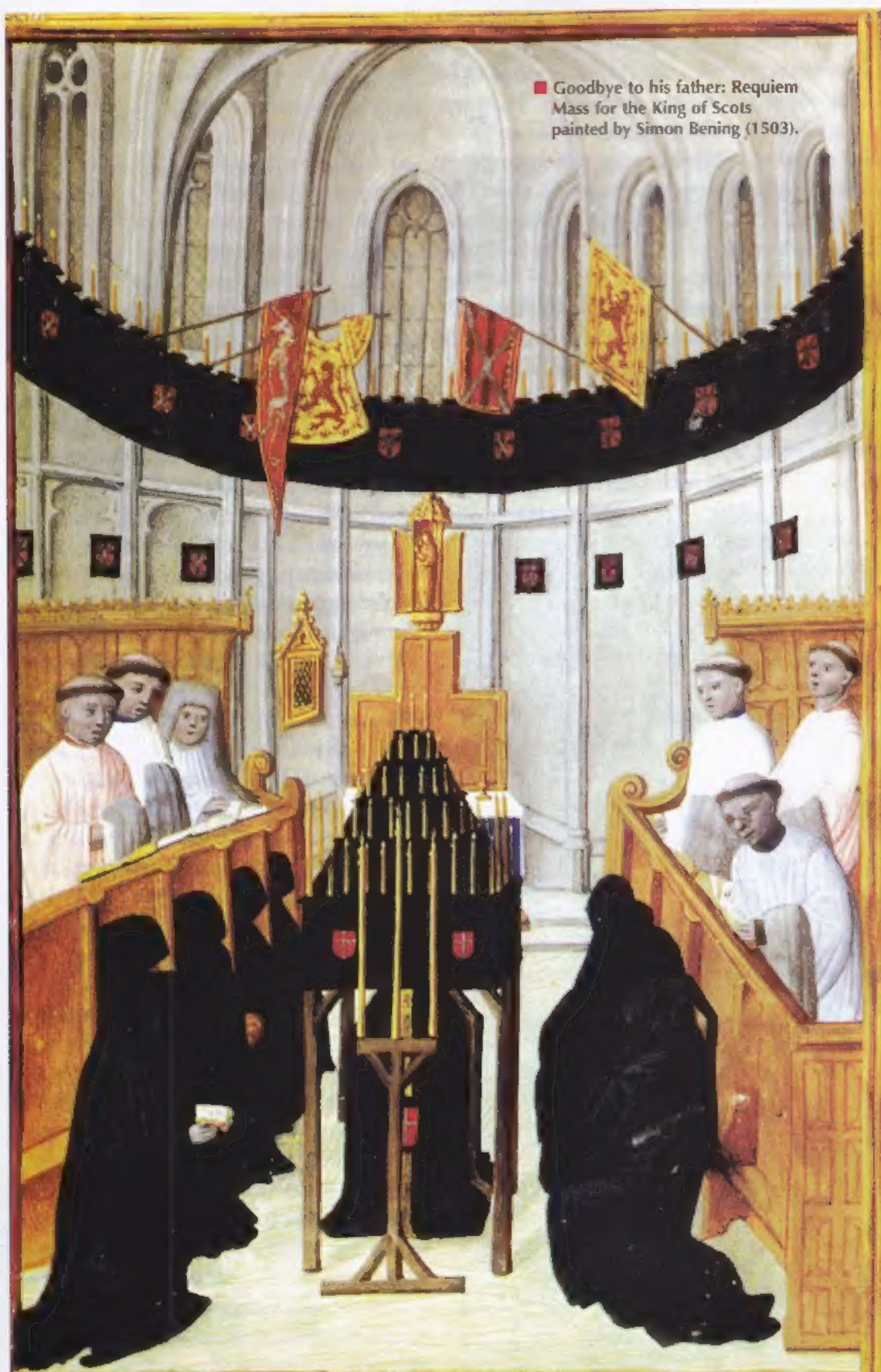
Scotland has always been a seafaring nation, and as such had the appetite and expertise for the great naval arms race that began in 1505.

The result was James IV's Great Michael, the largest ship of its day.

The Michael never lived up to her potential, but she was an impressive addition to a long maritime tradition.

KING WHO WON PEOPLE'S HEART

■ Goodbye to his father: Requiem Mass for the King of Scots painted by Simon Bening (1503).



With his mother's political sense, he took power smoothly and set about his kingly mission – to be unresented, respected, even admired. James IV accomplished it with style and confidence

James IV was easily the most successful of the nine Stewart rulers of Scotland. Lavishly praised by contemporaries, his reputation was lauded to the skies after his death, most famously by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Writing around 1530, Lindsay described the king as 'the glory of all princely governing'. His verdict was based on personal knowledge of the King, for he had been at James's court as a young man. And his praise was perhaps justified.

Born at Holyrood on March 17, 1473, James IV began his reign with one advantage over his three predecessors – he was 15, and would soon reach man's estate and be able to exercise regal powers in person. Yet his hurried coronation at Scone in June, 1488, was followed a day later by his father's burial at Cambuskenneth, a juxtaposition of events which may have given him

food for thought. He had opposed his father at the Battle of Sauchieburn, but his celebrated penance for his role in the death of James III – the wearing of an iron belt next to his skin – was probably a later affectation.

On the other hand, he ordered immediate masses for the soul of his mother, Margaret of Denmark, in whose household at Stirling Castle he had been brought up. The young king inherited his mother's political sagacity, for he made no attempt to seize control of government from those whose successful rebellion had made him King. His adult rule began in the spring of 1495, when he was 22 – a late developer by Stewart standards.

The King's assumption of power, a smooth transition without forfeitures or executions, indicated the shape of things to come. Throughout his personal rule, there would be little trouble with the Scottish nobility, largely because – uniquely in the late Medieval period – the royal council was truly representative of the most powerful men in the kingdom – Hepburn, Argyll, Huntly, Hume, and bishops Blacadar of Glasgow and Elphinstone of Aberdeen – so that even in far-flung localities, men might find a patron at court.

The success of royal government during these years was based on both on style and personality. As his father had never done, James IV worked at his job, hurrying about the country to preside at local courts, settling feuds, and taking a pride in visiting far-flung areas of his kingdom in speed and safety.

Sometimes pride was combined with piety, as in 1507 when the King made an eight-day pilgrimage on foot from Edinburgh to the shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn in Galloway, a walk which required a visit to the cobbler in Penpont en route.

A more spectacular demonstration of James IV's ability to move swiftly through his realm was his solitary ride from Perth to Elgin, then via the Ardersier ferry to the Black Isle and thence to the shrine of St Duthac

■ James IV and Queen Margaret being presented with a model ship at their wedding ceremony.



at Tain in Easter Ross, all in the space of two days. Such remarkable examples of royal pilgrimage reflect James's ostentatious piety throughout his reign. Pilgrimages to Whithorn and Tain became annual events, and the King's generosity to the Church is seen in his founding of at least four Observantine friaries.

But there was a price to be paid for all this. The King expected – and received – large subventions from

the Church to help fund his wars; and he was frequently cynical in his nominations to great religious offices, above all the archbishopric of St Andrews. This he obtained first for his brother the Duke of Ross (to remove a potential rival or focus of opposition, and to pocket the revenues) in 1497; then, in 1504, for his 11-year-old illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart.

If James IV's piety, energy and

accessibility enhanced his popularity with his subjects, he also possessed those qualities easily admired by his nobility.

First, he was a warrior. The Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Ayala, a great admirer of the king, complained that he was continually putting himself in danger on the battlefield. But the king, according to Ayala, justified this as part of a need to display proper leadership to ►



James the fourth
Began his Reigne
1489 He married
Margaret eldest daughter
of Henry the seventh

■ **When James married Margaret:** part of a brittle old enemies' alliance.

► his people, who after all were required to serve him. Secondly, in that popular contemporary imitation of war, the tournament, James followed – and often dictated – fashion, organising events on a grand scale which attracted leading competitors from much of northern Europe, especially in 1503, 1507, and 1508.

Thirdly, James IV was a keen womaniser whose exploits were caustically celebrated by the great poet William Dunbar, and whose conquests included not only Marion Boyd, Margaret Drummond, and Janet Kennedy – by two of whom he had children – but also the bizarrely-named Janet 'Bare-arse'.

One of the major virtues of Medieval kingship was liberality. James IV expended vast sums on building projects designed to enhance the status of the house of Stewart in the wider European world. Thousands were spent on the royal palaces of Holyrood and Linlithgow, both displaying Renaissance features reminiscent of contemporary France and Italy.

Perhaps, however, the most

■ Detail of the Ratification of the Marriage contract of James IV and Margaret.

remarkable royal building activity was to be seen at Stirling Castle, where James was responsible for the buildings on three sides of the upper close – the King's House, the Chapel Royal, and the magnificent (and recently restored) Great Hall. It should be added that the music in the Chapel Royal was provided by the great composer Robert Carver, whose masses and motets ranked with the very finest liturgical music being produced in contemporary France and the Low Countries.

The King's greatest single item of expenditure, however, was on a royal navy – built, as he remarked in a letter to Louis XII of France in 1506, to defend Scotland.

But James had an aggressive view of defence, and his navy – which included the largest warship of its day, the monster 1,000-ton Great Michael, launched at Newhaven in October, 1511 – was French-inspired, built under the supervision of French shipwrights, and to some extent French-financed.

The navy provided a vast range of new jobs in the Firth of Forth, from those who manned the dockyards at Pool of Airth, Newhaven and Leith, to the Dunfermline baker who won the contract for supplying loaves to the Great Michael.

This vast royal expenditure would not have been possible if the King

As a follower of fashion, he set up tournaments on a grand scale which attracted top competitors from much of northern Europe

had not found ways of increasing royal income. He inherited an empty treasury, because what was left of his father's treasure had been spent by the end of the minority, and the Crown's total annual income – around £14,000 Scots – was quite inadequate to serve the needs of a man who was going to spend at least £100,000 on his navy alone.

James IV's success lay in tripling royal income without recourse to taxation, and so avoiding personal unpopularity. He achieved this dramatic increase – to around £40,000 Scots by 1513 – through casual sources of Crown income, extracting money from debtors by 'apprising' (valuing lands for sale to pay off debts), 'recognition' (repossession of lands which had been improperly alienated) and by levying compositions, fees and fines for royal charters of confirmation.

Above all, in the last years of his reign he introduced feu-farming of Crown lands on a grand scale – a practice condemned by the poets Dunbar and Henryson on the ground that poor tenants could not afford the increased rents, and were easily evicted.

James IV was no easy-going king. He was, in fact, a ruler who wished to be regarded by contemporaries as a powerful Renaissance prince. His keen interest in a wide variety of subjects – including medicine, dentistry and alchemy – was matched by his fascination with new technology, above all the invention of printing by moveable metal type.

And if Scotland's first printing press – the Chepman and Myllar press – achieved rather less than he had hoped, it did provide, in Bishop Elphinstone's Aberdeen Breviary (1509-10), a new Scottish liturgy to rival the English one then in use; not



■ A big spender and a womaniser – but James IV gave his subjects a sense of unity and collective self-confidence.

to mention the publication of Blind Harry's enormously popular epic poem *The Wallace*, the undoubted original source of the screenplay for the film *Braveheart*.

In August, 1503, James IV married the daughter of Henry VII of England, Margaret Tudor, at Holyrood. However, this wedding that celebrated union of the Thistle and the Rose was significant only in that it produced the Union of the Scottish and English crowns a century later. At the time, it was part of a brittle alliance, grandly named the Treaty of Perpetual Peace, but was in fact little more than a truce negotiated between two

exhausted enemies, after the Scots had looked to French, Milanese, and Spanish alternatives for a royal bride.

When the young, egocentric Henry VIII of England announced his intention to restart the 100 Years War by invading France, there was no doubt which side the Scots would eventually choose. James obtained men, money, and munitions from Louis XII of France; from the English he received only threats.

War came in the summer of 1513, with the Scottish fleet sailing via the Hebrides to attack Carrickfergus, the main English stronghold in Ulster, subsequently moving on to join up with Louis XII's Norman and

Breton fleets in the Channel.

James IV himself, well supported by a huge Scottish army, invaded Northumberland and took Norham Castle, a Scottish target for 50 years, by storm after a five-day siege.

At the end of August, 1513, his reputation was at its height, and his forceful kingship had instilled in the Scots a sense of unity and collective self-confidence unmatched in any previous age. At the same time, however, the English – badly stung by James's advances – were galvanised into action.

Soon the two sides would meet in one of the bloodiest-ever encounters between the two nations. ●

Where the Flower

At the start, it looked as if the Scots held all the cards. But after three of his cousins were killed, Alexander Home abandoned his key role. It was a crucial lapse that lost Scotland a vital battle, thousands of men – and a king

■ News of Flodden: This 1907 painting by William Hole captures the awful realisation of the defeat's magnitude.

The battle of Flodden fought on September 9, 1513, was one of the greatest, and certainly bloodiest, encounters of the Anglo-Scottish Border wars. Members of every important noble and gentry family in Scotland and Northern England were present along with their retainers. Within a few hours of desperate hand-to-hand fighting thousands of Scots were left dead or dying. Included among them was the charismatic James IV, and virtually an entire generation of nobles and leaders of the Church.

Having formally declared war on Henry VIII and pledged himself as an ally of France, James and his army of more than 20,000 crossed the River Tweed into England on August 22, 1513. One of the best-equipped Scottish forces of the period, the royal army then settled down to the siege of Norham Castle – the stronghold of the Bishop of Durham – dominating one of the main crossing points on the Tweed.

By August 29, Norham had been battered into submission by the King's 17 heavy siege guns.

The fall of Norham – which, after all, had withstood a two-week siege by James and his army in 1497 – was faster than expected. Flushed by such an early success, James led his army down the east bank of the River Till, securing the main crossing points by taking Etal and Ford castles.

Ford Castle became the King's headquarters as his soldiers ravaged the surrounding area at their leisure.

By September 3 the English army was assembling at Alnwick Castle, 12 miles south-east, under the command of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. By the next day, Howard was joined by his second son, the Lord Admiral, with around 1,000 men taken from his fleet. With his army of 20-26,000 men and 22 guns, Surrey marched northwards



of Scotland died

towards the Scots, with the earl travelling in a carriage, because he was too old to ride.

Surrey was keen to avenge his failure in the war of 1497 when the Scots had avoided a fight, and he had been forced to retreat in dishonour.

As in 1497, James IV and Surrey exchanged challenges through their heralds. The commanders of both sides lived by the same codes of conduct and behaviour, in a world of personal valour, reputation and honour. Such challenges were not simply acts of outdated chivalry; they were the best way to arrange for both sides to fight at an agreed time and place in an age when detailed maps simply did not exist.

Accepting the challenge to fight, James moved his army on September 8 to a high hill, called Flodden Edge, overlooking the village of Millfield, and awaited the English. The English were taken by surprise with the strength of the Scottish position – far too strong for Surrey's army. The old earl complained that by choosing such ground James had broken their fight agreement – he was not playing by the rules! The King retorted that he would fight at a time and place of his choosing, not Surrey's.

James watched from the hill as the English army began to march around the Scots position to the north-west, heading for the River Coldstream and Scotland. What were they up to? Surrey and his generals were hoping to draw the Scots down from Flodden Edge on to more favourable ground where they could fight on more equal terms. The English reached the fords of Twizel and Heton on the River Till by evening.

On the morning of September 9 Surrey moved his army in driving rain slowly across the Till, and headed for Branxton. Once James and his generals realised what the English were up to, they moved the army northwards to seize an equally strong defensive position on



■ In this woodcut by a German artist, James IV lies dead in the foreground and Scots wear German-style costume.

Branxton Hill. One of the main skills of a Medieval general was in careful choice of ground, and James chose his battlefield well. His plan was simply to repeat his success at Millfield – stay on Branxton Hill and give the English only two options: attack or go home.

The King watched from Branxton Hill as the English army crossed

an area of marshy ground, the Palliusburn, and began to deploy into three divisions with its gunners desperately hauling their guns into position near Piper's Hill. The fourth division under Sir Edward Stanley had not yet arrived.

The Scottish army was massed in five such divisions, four in the front line and one, unseen by the English,

in reserve under the Earl of Bothwell, Alexander Home and the Earl of Huntly led the Scottish left wing, Lennox and Argyll led the right, with King James commanding one of the central divisions. Thus the battle lines were drawn.

Between 4.30pm and 5pm the artillery of both sides opened fire. James's artillery, manned by Scots ►



■ The bloodiest of battles, but Flodden's carnage is often overestimated: 5,000 Scots died and 1,500 English.

► and French gunners, forced some English borderers to panic and run. The English guns began to unnerv the men under Home and Huntly, despite having to fire uphill.

The sight of fleeing English borderers, combined with the noise and thud of English gunshot, was too much for Alexander Home, who now charged downhill without orders and drove into the English soldiers facing them. Within a few minutes these men were streaming to the rear in panic.

Their commander, Edmund Howard (Surrey's younger son), was beaten to the ground three times and his standard captured. He was saved only by the charge of the remaining English borderers led by Thomas, Lord Dacre.

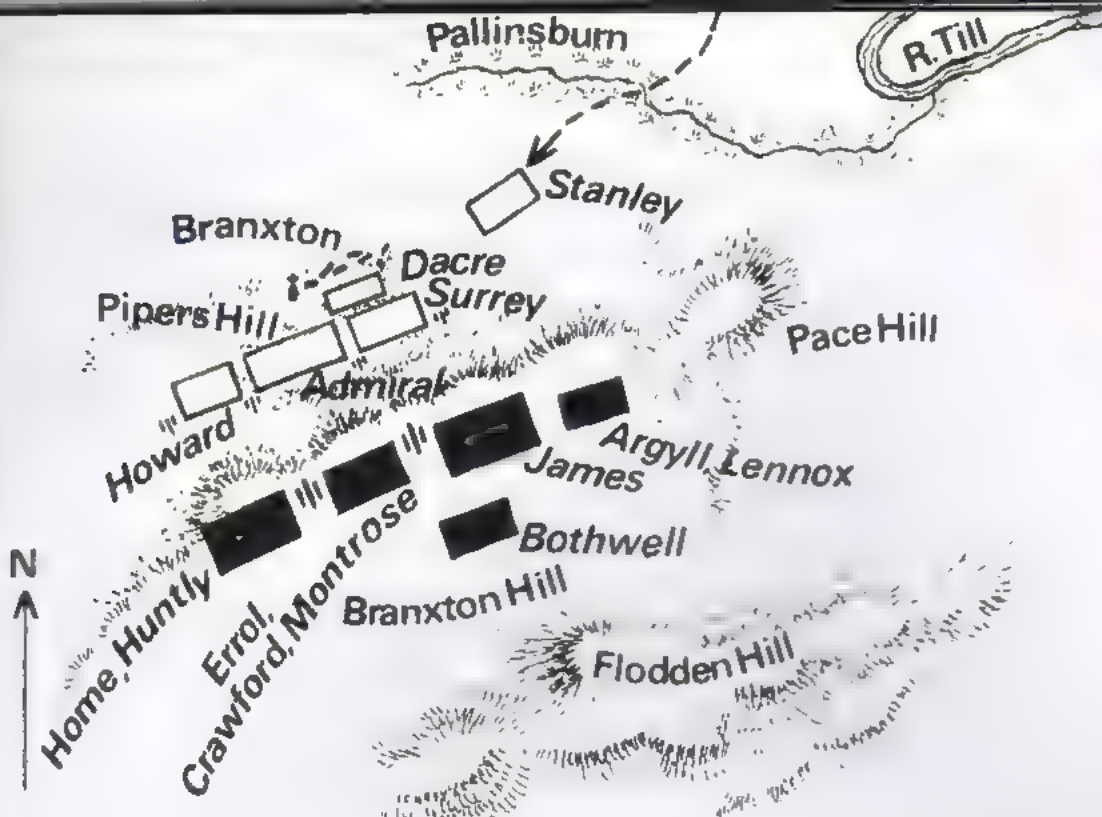
Three of Home's cousins, several Border lairds, and four members of the Earl of Huntly's family were killed in the fighting, but 160 English borderers were cut down as well. Although victorious, Home took no further part in the battle despite being dangerously perched on the English flank. The reasons for this are still hotly debated by historians, but his failure to act was to cost the Scots dear.

The critical point in the battle had arrived. Seeing the rout of the English right wing, James decided now was the time to charge and ordered the main assault. With Home now poised to roll up the English line from the right, a massed charge by the remainder of the army must surely shatter the English line. However, James's reliance on Home was to prove fatal.

Trumpets signalled the advance and the soldiers and gentlemen of the royal division and those of Errol, Crawford and Montrose began their ominous and steady advance.

Bothwell led the reserve from the Lothians and Liddesdale forward in the attack a few minutes later. More importantly, James led his soldiers in person, leaving his army without a leader and his generals without orders. He has been condemned for this ever since, yet, except for old Surrey, all the Scots and English leaders risked their lives fighting in the front ranks – it was expected of them.

Indeed, the success of such a charge hinged upon the commander being seen to share the dangers with his men, inspiring



■ Who was where as the Scottish and English armies faced each other at Flodden on September 9, 1513

them as they fought and died

Both sides awaited the clash with increasing fear. Men and boys from 16 to 60 advanced silently, trumpets blasting out signals above the gunfire. Carrying their 18ft-long spears or pikes or weapons like the English bill, the Scots readied themselves to win or die.

In the front ranks the gentlemen of Scotland placed their faith in their imported plate armour which protected them from the showers of English arrows as they advanced. As the Scots reached the foot of the hill, they crossed a small ditch and lost some of the shock of their charge.

Meanwhile, those soldiers on the King's left were having bloody lanes torn into them by the English guns as they moved closer.

However, when the masses of men collided, the shock effect of five ranks of Scottish spears and their remaining momentum drove Surrey's soldiers back, and he found himself in the thick of the fighting.

On reaching the English commander, James IV was killed 'within a spear's length' of his banners, an event witnessed only to those immediately beside him. The bloodshed and killing went on, his death ignored by those around him.

Soldiers protected by their armour had to be beaten down four or five times before they could be finished off. The fighting was so desperate that neither side would or could take prisoners. Scottish nobles and commoners were butchered without distinction as they were slowly overwhelmed by enemy numbers.

The remnants of James's

exhausted men found their retreat cut off by more English soldiers charging into their flank and rear.

Those who joined in the slaughter of the Scots, Lancashire soldiers under Sir Edward Stanley, had been late arriving on the field. Elated with their success over Lennox and Argyll, who had been caught by surprise still on Branxton Hill, Stanley's men began plundering the dead.

As dusk fell, the last Scots soldiers around the King tried to surrender including James's standard bearer, Adam Forman. Others had fled before all escape routes had been cut off.

Despite Flodden being one of the bloodiest of battles in Scotland's history, estimates of the carnage are vastly exaggerated by historians. At their highest the Scots may have lost up to 5,000 men during the entire invasion. The majority of the Scottish army survived the fighting. Michael Fleming returned to Rottenrow in Glasgow and gave thanks to God; Steven Clerk of Selkirk returned with his black horse.

What is significant is that where the losses fell heaviest was among the nobility of Scotland and among the ranks of James's and Bothwell's divisions. Three bishops, 11 earls, 15 lairds, and the King were killed; their bodies stripped naked and mutilated.

The 'Flower of Scotland' lay unburied until the next day when

James's body was identified and transported to the south as a victory 'trophy' and never returned.

Flodden Field was a bloody defeat, but it did not dent Scotland's will to defend its independence from English domination and interference. Although she once again had a child king, Scotland continued the war, mobilising more men to protect the Border, and continued the vital relationship with France.

Surrey had won a stunning victory, defeating the Scots in a battle where they had held all the cards, and losing only 1,500 men. News pamphlets, printed in London, celebrated the victory, news even reaching Rome and the court of the Pope through a 'friend of the English'.

Henry VIII made Surrey Duke of Norfolk, his admiral son was made Earl of Surrey, and young Edmund Howard was knighted.

Scotland, meanwhile, lost a popular and charismatic king, perhaps the best of the Stewarts, in the blood and mud of Flodden Field. ●

TIMELINE

1473

March 17: James IV is born at Holyrood.

1488

James involved in death of his father, James III, at Sauchieburn. The 15-year-old is hastily crowned at Scone on June 24, in time for father's burial the next day.

1495

James begins adult rule at 22, a 'late developer' for a Stewart king.

1503

James marries the daughter of Henry VII of England, Margaret Tudor, at Holyrood Abbey.

1507

The king shows his piety with pilgrimages from Edinburgh to Galloway and Tain, in Easter Ross.

1511

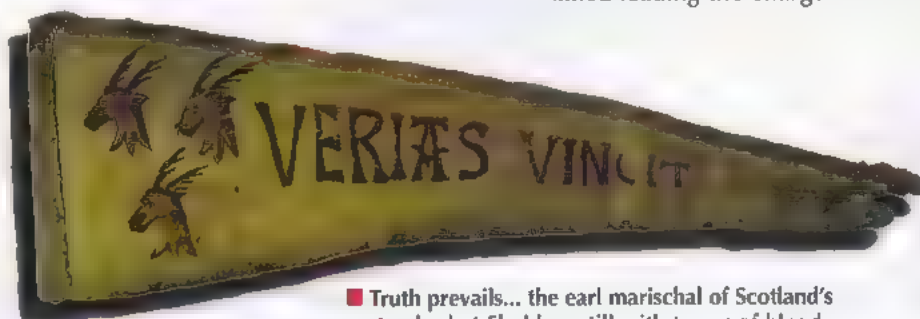
James's massive naval flagship, the Great Michael, is completed.

1513

JULY: Henry VIII's aggression prompts James IV to unite with France, and war is declared against England.

AUGUST: James leads an army of 20,000 across the Tweed.

SEPTEMBER: Tactical mistakes bring disaster for the Scots at Battle of Flodden. James IV is killed leading the charge.



■ Truth prevails... the earl marischal of Scotland's standard at Flodden, still with traces of blood.

King Scots

Not consciously intending to be a patron of the poets, James IV had more than any other king. Most notable were the very different Dunbar and Douglas

During James IV's reign there occurred a remarkable literary flowering, which has been called the Golden Age of Scottish literature.

Collectively, these poets were known as 'the makars' and they had a lasting impact on Scottish writing through the centuries. The movement later inspired the great poet Hugh MacDiarmid, who led the early 20th-century equivalent of the Scottish Literary Renaissance.

Some of the makars of James IV's reign are little more than shadowy names, and of others only a handful of poems survive. But enough exists to show that the two greatest poets of this period – William Dunbar (1460-1513) and Gavin Douglas (1475-1522) – did not write in isolation. They formed part of a

■ Still selling in new volumes today – the devout, comic and brilliant works of poet William Dunbar.

who breathed life into Golden Age of poetry



■ As it is today, the Great Hall of Linlithgow Palace where fiddlers, harpists, jugglers, minstrels and his many makars would entertain the King.

flourishing literary culture, largely Edinburgh-based and associated with the court.

This circle was no narrow elite, but included booksellers, clerks, merchants and lairds, as well as poets.

It also included those who first published their writings and preserved them for posterity, such as Walter Chapman and Andrew Myllar, Scotland's first printers, who in 1508 established their press in what is now Edinburgh's Cowgate.

Dunbar was the most brilliant and the most varied of these poets – by turns devout, idealistic, melancholy, flippant, even obscene. His jubilant hymn on the Resurrection of Christ is perhaps the finest religious poem ever written by a Scot, yet he is no ascetic and cheerfully celebrates the pleasures of this world, including resche fragrant claretis out of

France'. Dunbar's comic poems are often disturbing and exploit social tensions, such as those between Highlanders and Lowlanders, or between men and women. Both sexes are mercilessly satirised in his longest and most ambitious work, *The Two Married Woman and the Widow*.

Many of his poems are personal and intimate-sounding, yet we know little about his early life, except that he was well educated, graduating at St Andrews University in 1479.

The years between 1500 and 1513 represent the best documented period in his career. In 1500 Dunbar was awarded a 'pension', or annual salary, of £10 by James IV, and in some poems he reveals a sense of grievance that this was smaller than those received by artisans, such as masons and gunners. But it was doubled in 1507, and in 1510 raised

to what was then the very high sum of £80 a year.

As a member of the royal household, Dunbar also received a 'livery', or twice yearly allowance of clothing – and one of his most witty poems is a complaint to the king when it was not delivered on time. It is not known what Dunbar's precise duties were, but it is unlikely that he was paid simply for writing poems. He probably acted as scribe, secretary or envoy, like other poet-servitors in the royal household.

Authorship at this time was very much a spare-time occupation.

It was then common for those educated at university to enter the Church, and Dunbar's poems often imply that he would have liked a benefice, even if it were no more than a small 'kirke scant coverit with badder (heather)'. By 1509 he was a

chaplain, but he never attained high office in the Church.

There is no doubt as to the importance of the court for Dunbar. It provided him not only with his livelihood, but with an audience. Many of his most interesting poems were addressed to the King or the Queen, although he rarely indulged in the flattery characteristic of contemporary French court poets.

The court also provided much of his subject matter. He celebrated, in suitably elevated style, great festive occasions, such as the wedding of James and Margaret Tudor in 1503. He also wrote short comic squibs about less-dignified events and persons – such as the alchemist who tried to fly from the top of Stirling Castle but fell into a midden.

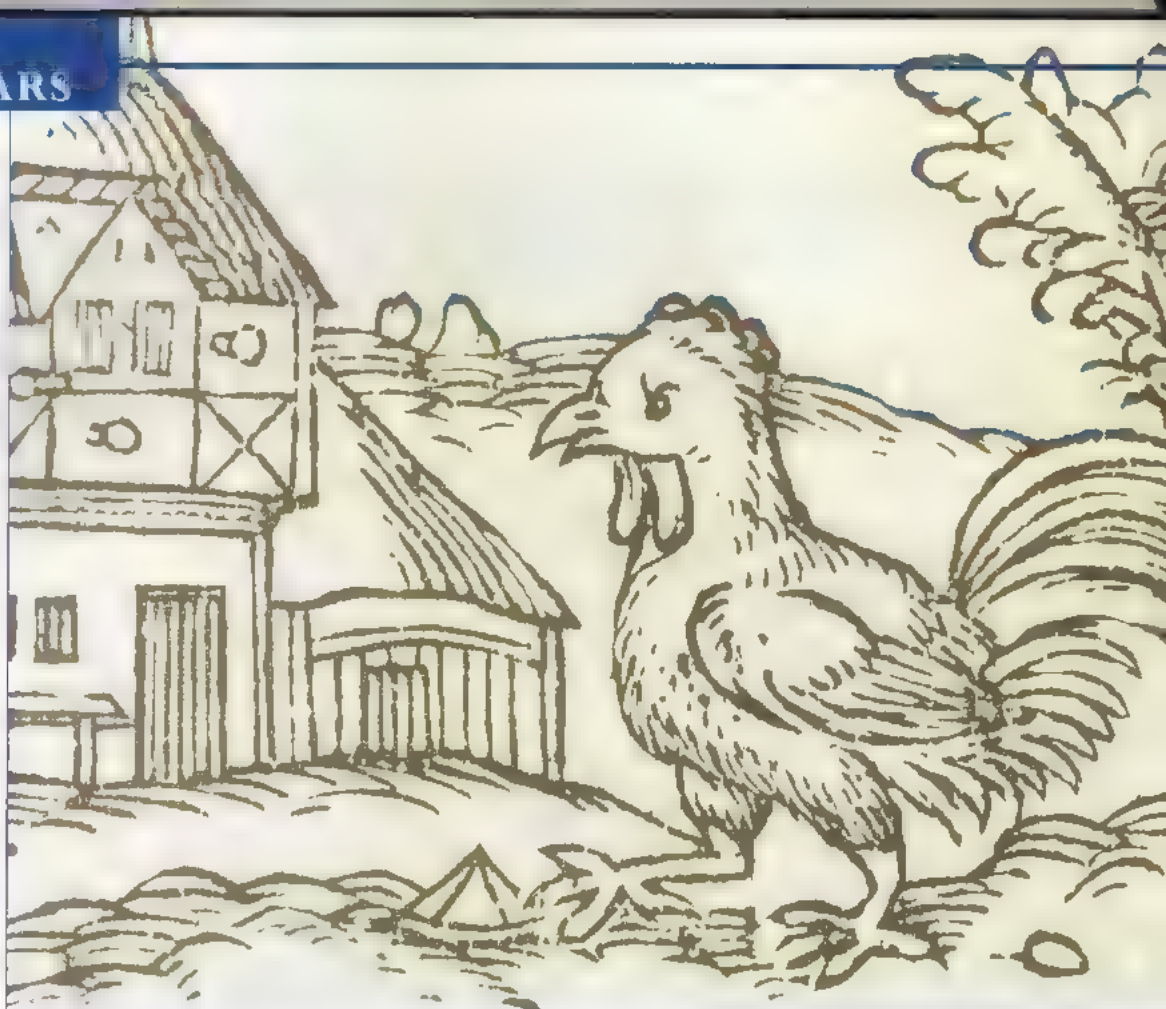
It is from Dunbar that we gain the most vivid, if sometimes ▶

The chatty prologues reveal Douglas's genius for natural description – of a balmy June evening or a frosty night in December

unflattering, picture of the Scottish court. He describes, as he once remarked, what he sees 'daylie in court befor myn e (eye)', and he has a keen eye for the absurdities and follies of life. His poems are full of actual people, ranging from the King himself down to the humble fools and minstrels. He has a journalistic interest in what is new and topical, and is one of the first poets to mention the great voyages of discovery. He also provides by far the best and most accurate description of 16th century Edinburgh.

Gavin Douglas's career was very different from that of Dunbar. He rose rapidly to high office in the Church, aided by the fact that he was the son of the fourth Earl of Angus, and thus belonged to a rich and powerful family. By 1503 he was Provost of St Giles, the important collegiate church in Edinburgh, and in 1516 he became Bishop of Dunkeld. But his ambition to acquire the archbishopric of St Andrews was never realised, and he died in exile in London.

As a poet, Douglas also differed strikingly from Dunbar. A learned and intellectual man, who shared many of the educational ideals of the Northern humanists, he held an exalted conception of poetry. This is evident in his first work, a complex allegorical poem called *The Palace of Honour*, which he dedicated to James IV in 1501. Douglas completed his most famous poem, a translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in 1513. This ambitious and pioneering work was the first of the great Renaissance translations from the classics. One of its interesting features is that each book is



■ This simple engraving illustrated *The Tale of the Cock and the Jasp* by Sir David Lyndsay in the mid-1500s.

accompanied by a prologue.

These chatty and highly-readable prologues are today the best introduction to Douglas. They illuminate his personality and the difficulties he faced as a translator. They also reveal his genius for natural description – of a June evening or a frosty December night.

Some of the minor poets of this time are commemorated in one of Dunbar's finest poems, commonly known as *The Lament for the Makars* (1505). In this he mentions 21 Scottish poets, not all of whom can be identified today. Oblivion has swallowed up all but the sonorous title of 'Schir Mungo Lokert of the Lee'. Several of the poets, however, were Dunbar's contemporaries at court.

One of these was 'Stobo', the nickname given to John Reid, secretary to both James III and James IV. Another was Quintin Shaw, who in the early 1500s received a pension of the same value as Dunbar's. He is known for a brief satire on the perils of court life.

Dunbar also mentions Patrick Johnston, who deserves to be remembered in the annals of Scottish drama as the first named deviser of interludi, or court entertainments, at Christmas and Shrovetide.

Early scholars thought Johnston must have been a strolling player, in

fact he was a public notary and tax collector for the king. Like many of the court personnel, he was extremely versatile.

The dramatist Sir David Lyndsay does not figure in this poem, of course, since his connection with James IV's court dated only from the end of the reign, when he was an attendant to the young prince who later became James V. Lyndsay would go on to be the greatest poet of that reign.

Walter Kennedy, who boasted of being the King's 'special clerk', is also affectionately mentioned in Dunbar's poem, and said to be on the point of death; in fact he survived until 1518. Today his reputation has been eclipsed by the greater fame of Dunbar, and he is remembered chiefly for the part he plays in *The Flying of Dunbar* and Kennedy, a lively and scurrilous quarrel between the two poets. Yet he also wrote fine religious poetry which deserves to be better known.

James IV has received more credit than he perhaps deserves for the flowering of poetry and other arts in his reign. He was a talented and

extroverted man, who loved tournaments, falconry, hunting and other aristocratic sports. He rewarded fiddlers, harpists and minstrels lavishly, but there is little evidence that he consciously intended to be a patron of poets, or gave them the sort of direct encouragement that William Douglas received from the nobleman Henry, Lord Sinclair.

Yet James IV's charismatic personality undoubtedly contributed much to the lively atmosphere of his court. Certainly no earlier Scottish king had so many excellent poets on his payroll. ●



■ Sir David Lyndsay's time with James IV's court spilled over into James V's.

SCOTLAND COURTS A NEW REFINEMENT



In an age when lavish displays of wealth, pomp and ceremony were a measure of royal worth, James IV's court was up there with the best

Court spectacles and lavish displays of power and prestige were very much de rigueur during James IV's reign, as he and his courtiers sought to ensure that Scotland participated fully in the European Renaissance

There was no public relations industry in Renaissance Europe, no corps of men and women dedicated to the favourable promotion of their clients. But the principles were there in no small way for those who could afford it.

Kings and queens and their advisers, as well as leading nobles, understood the power of the image.

Basically it came down to this: to stay up there among the people who counted, and get the common people on your side, you had to impress with your wealth, importance and power. Otherwise, you could lose respect.

Kings spent a lot of money living in the style expected of them, and in Scotland, later Stewart monarchs such as James IV were noted for the opulence of their court life.

James IV's court, following the fashion established in late 15th

■ Renaissance-style images of barbarous Highlanders began to appear under James IV. This example from 1566 shows the trend continued in Mary's reign.

■ James's spending on Stirling Castle (left) made it the centrepiece of Renaissance opulence in Scotland.





► century Burgundy, was a place of dignity, ceremonial and pageantry.

In art, names that survive are those of painters such as Alexander Chalmers, who embellished the king's ships and made canvas beasts with wooden wings for a tournament in 1507.

Though it may not have produced much itself, the Scottish court had the taste to import the best that late 15th century Europe had to offer, and the best was found in the Low Countries (roughly what we now know as Holland and Belgium).

The beautiful and delicate hanging lamp in St John's Kirk in Perth survives as an example of Scottish contact with the Low Countries, and the Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor as fine examples of Flemish illumination.

Tabernacles and images of St Catherine and St John were brought from Flanders to Dunkeld by Bishop Brown, and vestments and hangings by the abbot of Holyrood when he visited Bruges in 1494.

Even Flemish tombstones enjoyed a period in vogue. James, Duke of Ross, and others imported tombstones from Bruges, and one of James IV's other courtiers had a portrait medal done of himself.

But Renaissance style also flowed from the Scottish court into these places. Alexander Bening, one of the great Flemish miniaturists and father-in-law of Scots merchant and ambassador Andrew Halyburton, may have come from an Edinburgh family of Benings, who produced a number of 16th century artists.

Certainly, Flemish contact brought to Scotland one of the great works of art of the age, the Trinity panels. These are among the larger of the nine surviving paintings by Hugo van der Goes of James III and Margaret of Denmark.

Andrew Halyburton himself, from his staging post in the Netherlands, helped ensure that James IV's royal palaces were well stocked in French claret, fine cloth and oysters. In return, the coin that fuelled the hearths of castle and cloister in

James IV's reign was exported into mainland Europe.

James IV's court also engaged with the Netherlands as the country at the forefront of Renaissance styles in music. Guillaume Dufay and his successors made the Netherlands the Vienna or Berlin of the 15th and early 16th centuries. The Scots lute player, John Broune, who had been sent there under James III in 1473, was joined in 1498 by two other musicians, Thomas Inglis and John Fethy.

Fethy came back to Scotland as master of the song school in Aberdeen and then Edinburgh, he introduced the new skill of five-fingered organ playing, and the elaborate part-writing of the one piece of his music that survives indicates he was a musician of high

of the arts, his building up of a navy, his interest in artillery, and his patronage of scientific experiments show that he grasped the importance of the ostentatious display of military and technological achievement to royal authority.

James IV favoured Holyrood Palace above both Edinburgh and Stirling castles. At the same time, however, he began an ambitious and hugely expensive building work at Stirling Castle which contributed to it later becoming the centrepiece of Renaissance-style opulence in Scotland, and the premier among both James IV and V's royal courts. The Great Hall commissioned by James IV is the finest surviving Medieval hall in Scotland, and was described by later poet John Taylor as 'the noblest I ever saw in Europe,

both Height, Length, and Breadth'.

In addition, the introduction of the printing press was the major development of James IV's reign.

He was a man of great personal charisma, which was commented on by several of his courtiers. The Spanish ambassador, Pedro de Ayala, described him as handsome, highly educated and intelligent.

There are question marks over wealth distribution at the royal court, but the fact remains that music, arts and fashion flourished lavishly under James IV

talent on an international level.

His impact can be seen in the work of a pupil of his Aberdeen song school, Robert Black, who wrote organ music that has all the liveliness suitable for the small organ, and is amazingly attractive, if unfamiliar to generations nurtured on the massive modern pipe-organ.

Otherwise, two folk songs, court part-songs and the church music of Robert Carver, who wrote five masses for the chapel royal at Stirling, including a hauntingly lovely mass for six voices, are the main survivors of the music of the Renaissance court of James IV, and the early years of that of James V just enough to reflect the quality and style of what once existed.

Though James IV acted to crush the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, he couldn't ignore the singular quality of Gaelic music, and some of its great harpists were patronised by the Scots king. Along with his patronage

The complaint of his great court poet, William Dunbar, about his mean patronage and failure to appreciate the supreme importance of his poets at court is no more than a standard grievance – Dunbar had his own axe to grind.

James IV paid for his lavish court by skilful manipulation of Crown and Church revenues, but such action set a pattern which would later contribute to resentment towards the Stewart monarchs and the Church, something for which James V especially would be heavily criticised by his court poets.

While there are question marks over wealth distribution at the royal court, the fact remains that Renaissance music and fashions flourished lavishly under James IV.

For the rest of the century after Flodden, James V, Mary and James VI continued to embrace the style brought into vogue during James IV's reign. ●

The warrior king was also a pilgrim who travelled far for God and wished to be seen as pious

We know more of the peregrinations of James IV than we do of any other individual Medieval Scot, prince or pauper. This unique record has come down to us thanks to the Lord Treasurer's accounts, which record where and when the King spent money, and for what purpose

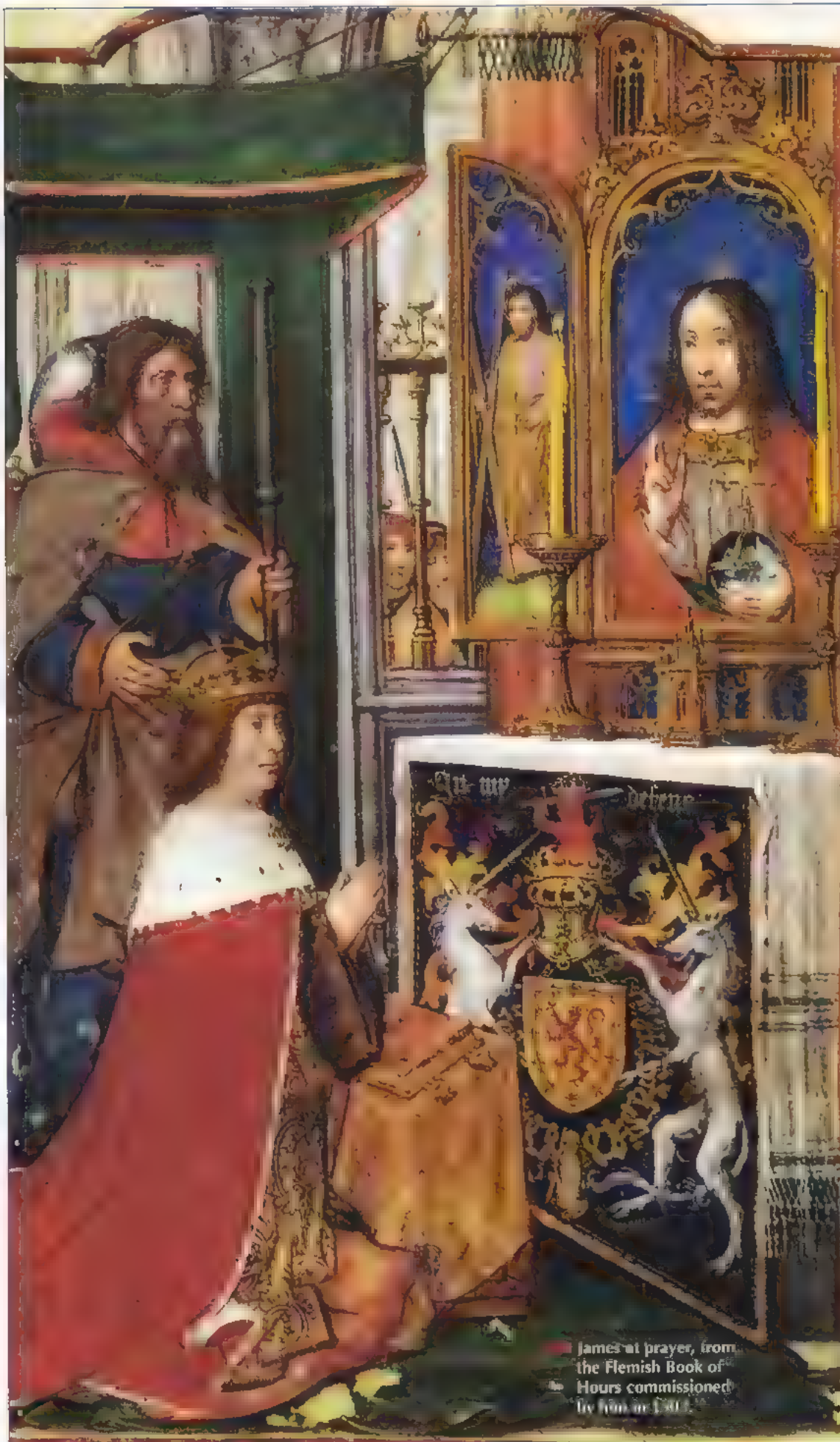
His pilgrimage activities give us an extraordinary insight into the character of the man – and how he was wracked by guilt, seeking forgiveness through devotion and penitence during his annual visits to the shrines of St Ninian at Whithorn and St Duthac at Tain

This guilt initially stemmed from the part he played in the death of his father James III, and as a constant reminder of this he is believed to have worn a heavy iron chain next to his skin. He was a curious mixture of pious prince and worldly noble, famed not only for his devotion to his favourite saints but also for his mistresses and other vices

Between March and September 1507, at the age of 36, James chose to spend about six weeks on pilgrimages – twice to Whithorn, along with visits to Tain and to the shrine on the Isle of May – covering a distance of more than 850 miles

The intensity of this pilgrimage activity was primarily motivated by his concerns for the health of his wife, Margaret Tudor, and their newborn son, James. And so on March 10, believing that his sins would lead to a terrible judgment on his queen and heir, he took action to redeem himself in the eyes of God, by setting out on foot with a small entourage on an arduous pilgrimage to Whithorn

Travelling south east from Edinburgh by Crawford, stopping after five days at Penpont to have his shoes resoled, he managed to complete the journey in eight days, averaging 20 miles per day. On reaching Wigtown, rather than rest



James at prayer, from the Flemish Book of Hours commissioned by him in 1504

■ Whithorn was twice visited by James IV in 1507. Its ancient priory was on the site of the present parish church.



He walked off his soles for his sins

for the night in comfort, he engaged a guide to lead him through the darkness by the shortest paths, so that he could arrive at the shrine in time for morning mass, footsore and penitent.

He believed that his prayers were answered as his wife and son recovered thanks to 'the piety and devotions of her husband, through the help of St Ninian under God'.

The Queen was well enough to accompany her husband on another pilgrimage to Whithorn in July, 1507, to offer her own thanks to the saint. This journey took about two weeks, travelling on horseback via Glasgow, Paisley and Kilwinning, where offerings could have been made to relics in each of these great churches.

At night the royal party would have been given hospitality by important churchmen and nobles, with some nights spent as the guests of monasteries. Crossraguel, Glenluce, Wigtown and Tongland were all conveniently located for this purpose, as was the priory at Whithorn itself.

The King's year of pilgrimage continued at the end of August, 1507, with a voyage from Edinburgh to venerate the shrine of St Adrian (Ethernan) on the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth, and spending some time in Crail, Fife, where he was entertained by the priest. The Treasurer's accounts helpfully list the disbursements of monies, showing that the King and his party needed

two boats, and that another was hired to take 'the kungis dynar and the cuke' to the island.

Only two days after returning to Stirling Castle from his trip to Fife, James set off once more, this time to the shrine of St Duthac at Tain in Easter Ross, where he went on pilgrimage at least 18 times. Like his march to Whithorn earlier in the year, this trip to Tain was also exceptional in that he chose to ride alone, and completed the journey in only two days. He rode furiously from Stirling to Aberdeen and then on to Elgin (covering a remarkable distance of 130 miles) where he slept fully-clothed for a few hours on a priest's dining table. He then set off again and completed the last 40 miles, including the two ferry crossings at Ardersier and Cromarty, to arrive in time for morning mass.

The two-day ride to Tain was rather better planned than it looked, in that the King had been provided with a purse of £26, and that household members had been dispatched in advance, possibly to check that the route was safe, and to have fresh horses and food ready. The story of this trip would have gained immediate currency, and would certainly have served to impress his subjects with his vigour, as well as stressing how successful the King had been in enforcing the rule of law throughout his kingdom, making it possible for him to undertake such a

journey in safety, carrying a large purse. Or else he may simply have been attempting to set a record, possibly as a wager. From a political viewpoint, his two favoured places of pilgrimage could not have been better chosen.

Both were in outlying parts of the kingdom which had long been hostile to royal control. This insightful King knew how to make himself popular, and distracted his northern subjects from their loyalty to the clans by spending time among them, sharing their veneration of a beloved local saint.

The King's large and richly dressed group, accompanied by drummers and musicians, as well as royal huntsmen, would have been immediately recognised. Almost every trip to Whithorn was by a different route, allowing James to be seen by the maximum number of his subjects. Many who met him were treated generously, alms were given to the poor and sick, and the accounts are full of payments to inns, ferrymen, pipers and jesters, as well as the cost of ale and feed for the horses.

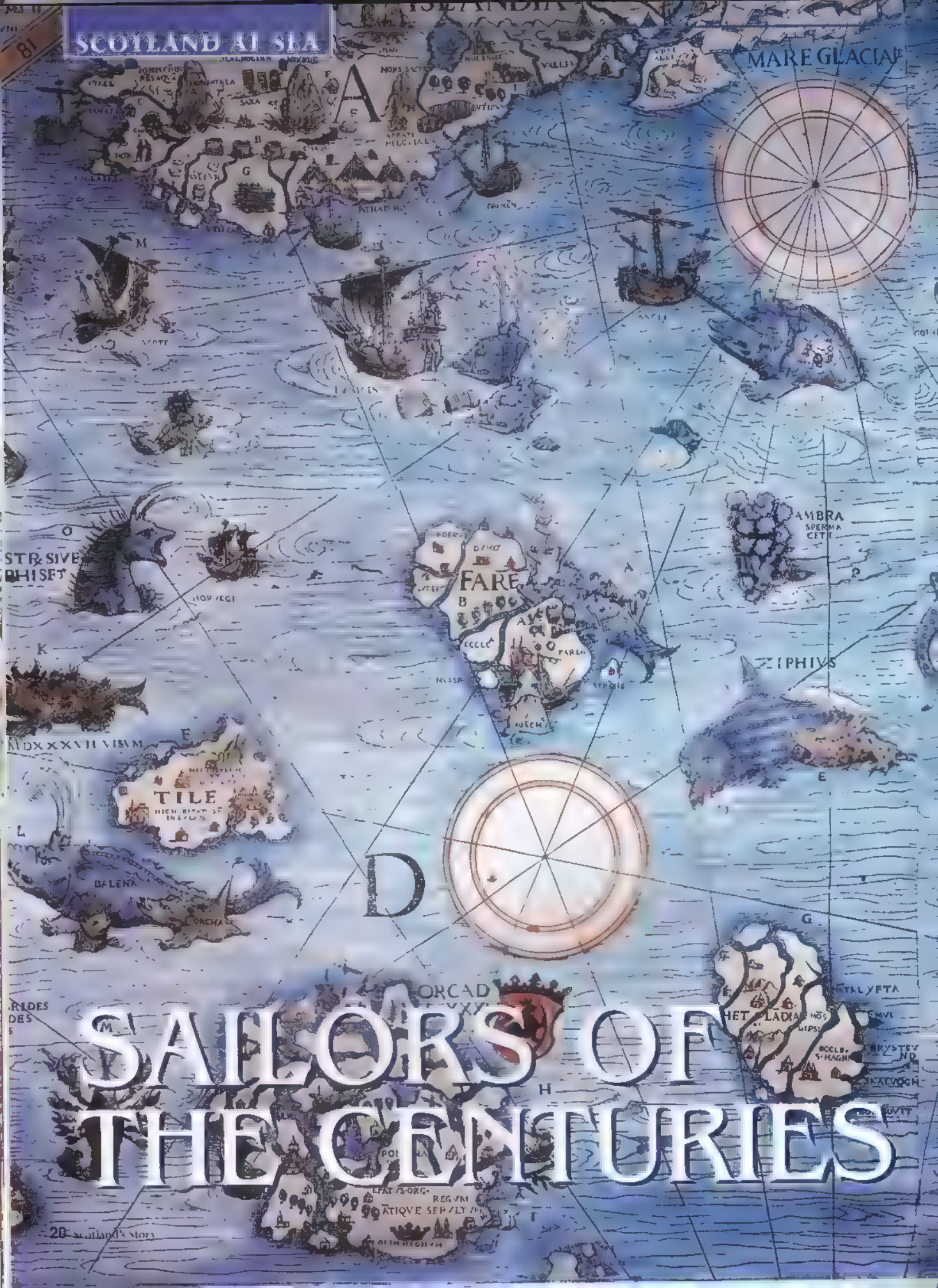
During his pilgrimages to Tain in October, 1505, and to Whithorn in



■ King's highways: James IV's pilgrimage destinations.

1508, and probably on other occasions, the party included four Italian minstrels, an exotic sight indeed to the eyes of the ordinary farming folk. ●

SCOTLAND AT SEA



SAILORS OF THE CENTURIES

Scotland's seaborne force was always impressive but a bid to be formidable faded with the fate of a great ship

■ The Great Michael: James IV's giant ship designed to boost Scotland's navy.

Surrounded by water on three long sides and embellished by patterns of islands, Scotland has long been a seafaring nation. This was not only a practical necessity but also a source of romantic images.

The bard Blind Harry, who documented Sir William Wallace's deeds, also wrote of a 15th century Scottish warship setting out, with the sailors taking a 'bonaty' (from the French 'bon aller') – a dram to speed them on their way.

*With glad hertis, al onis in thay went,
Upoun the schip thay rowit hastilye.
The siemen then, walkand ful bushtie,
Ankaris wand in wiselie on eathir sye.*

Their lynis kest, and waitit weil the

So anchors aweigh and the tide rising, these early seamen followed a calling which was, and still is, part of Scotland's history.

Early Picts and Scots operated skin covered coracles around the coasts, even using them for guerrilla attacks. Roman accounts from the 5th century suggest that fleets of these light boats were effective in harrying the highly-organised legions. The seaborne raiders were described as 'foul hordes, like dark throngs of worms, who wriggle out of fissures in the rock when the sun is high. In their greed for bloodshed they are more willing to cover their villainous faces with hair than their private parts with clothing'.

Only a very upset Roman could have written such an insulting diatribe. But even before the Romans set up their Scottish frontier, there is evidence from old wine containers and other foreign artefacts that the people from this land crossed the seas to trade and were far from being the untravelled savages that the Romans depicted.

However, there is little doubt that the violent coming of the Vikings, the supreme seafarers, from the 8th century onwards alerted the people of this land to the great possibilities of seaborne force. The Viking longships were the first to include a keel, giving the vessel greater stability and motive power. By the time of Robert Bruce, Scotland had a modest navy of war galleys propelled by up to 40 oarsmen, and he used his sea power to take the Isle of Man and stay in contact with allies in Ireland.

From the 15th century onwards, King James IV decided to improve Scotland's fighting navy as well as develop overseas commerce. An Act of 1493 ordered every coastal burgh to build fishing boats of at least 20 tons burden to catch 'the great innumerable riches' of the sea, for fish was one of Scotland's major exports.

To protect these interests, he had a war fleet of

nearly 30 ships, and in 1507 began the building of a 'verie monstrous great ship' called the Great Michael. Already the king had established royal dockyards at Newhaven and Airth on the River Forth, and had brought in French shipwrights to build men o' war such as his first large vessel, the Margaret. But the Great Michael was to be one of the biggest wooden walled ships of all time, measuring at around 240ft – nearly 60ft longer than Nelson's flagship Victory which was built three centuries later. With walls 10ft thick, it required so much timber that all the oak forests of Fife were stripped (except around Falkland, a royal hunting lodge) and additional timber had to be imported from Norway. The building, at Newhaven, took four years, and the name of a present-day pub in Leith – the King's Wark – recalls this time of feverish activity and local prosperity.

The final cost of this huge vessel was £30,000,

which represented a very big part of the nation's revenue. The ship was launched in 1511 and fitted with six huge cannon on either side plus two brass smaller guns designed to pick off enemy crews rather than to sink their vessels. Manning the ship were 300 seamen, 120 gunners and about 1,000 marines, and she went to sea with 240 sides of beef, 1,300 loaves of bread and 3,000 gallons of ale.

James was fortunate to have very able sea captains, such as Andrew Barton and Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo. But the Great Michael's war record hardly matched her potential. As the disastrous Battle of Flodden approached on land, James's navy set sail in support of the Auld Alliance with France, attacking an English fleet unsuccessfully at Carrickfergus. James's mighty vessel was destined never again to taste the salt



■ The Carta Marina, left, published in Rome in 1539 by Olaus Magnus, exiled Bishop of Upsalla.

► **Water home** She was eventually sold to the French, and met her end as a rotting hulk in the port of Brest. The fact is that, despite James's ambitions, Scotland never became a sea power on an international scale and never matched England's naval might.

Indeed, when English armies made cross Border invasions up the east coast, they were often shadowed by their own fleets which could put in to land when required to resupply the troops. The Scots were never able to use this valuable tactic.

Meanwhile, even after Flodden, much more modest warships than the Great Michael were still being built according to the Viking model in the Highlands and islands. The more powerful clans used war galleys to maintain their influence in the tattered coastline of sea lochs and islands. But – just as with the Great Michael – they were short of the necessary timber for construction. They also turned to Norway. And it seems that the inventive Norwegians would also sell them prefabricated galleys in kit form – an early example of the self assembly DIY trade.

We have to move on to the 18th century to trace Scotland's next explosion of maritime activity, this time a peaceful one.

The Scots were barred from trading with the English colonies overseas until the Act of Union in 1707. Indeed, this was a contributing factor that persuaded Scotland's 'parcel of rogues' to surrender their parliament. And in the 19th century, Scotland gained prestige as a trading nation, a shipbuilding nation and a seagoing nation.

As steel ships and steam power evolved, the Scots were in the vanguard as designers, engineers, constructors and the operators of ocean going fleets.

It was a situation that would last until British shipping declined in the 1960s. ●

■ **The Scottish armed merchantman the Yellow Carvel, captained by Sir Andrew Wood. James IV maintained a naval presence in northern waters by granting privateers' papers to vessels like this.**



Making the Michael

The building of Great Michael – from The History of Scotland by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie (1531-80) who was our first vernacular prose historian

◀ In 1511 the king begged a great ship, called the Great Michael, which was the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever sailed in England or France. For this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the wood in Fife, which was oak-wood, by all timber that was gotten out of Norway. For she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth (all the wrights of Scotland, yea, and many other strangers, were at her device, by king's command; who wrought very busily in her; but it was year and day ere she was complete) to wit, she was twelvescore foot of length, and thirty-six foot within the sides. She was ten foot thick in the wall, outted jests of oak in her wall, and boards on every side,

so stark and so thick, that no cannon could go through her.

This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the sea. From that time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with tows and anchors effeiring thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences, by her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, by all the rest of her orders; to wit, she bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind her dock, and one before, with three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to say, myand, and battert-falcon, and quarter-falcon, slings, pestilent serpents, and double-dogs, with hagtore and culvering, cors-bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to

sail her; she had sixscore of gunners, to use her artillery; and had a thousand men of war, by her captains, shippers and quarter-masters. When this ship past to the sea, and was lying in the road the king gart shoot a cannon at her, to essay her if she was wight; but I heard say, it deared her not, and did her little scaith [harm]. And if any man believe this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tullibardin, and there, afore the same, ye will see the length and breadth of her, planted with hawthorn, by the wright that helped to make her. As for other properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quarter-master of her; and Robert Bartyne, who was master-shipper. ,

NEWHAVEN'S GLORY DAYS



■ The way Newhaven looked from the harbour pier towards the end of the 19th century with some of the herring fleet harboured for the night.

A great ship put the village on the map but its 'yellow' fishwives are unforgettable

It was the building of the warship the Great Michael that made Newhaven notable. The tiny village on the Forth shore a couple of miles north of Edinburgh Castle, boasted only one street – South Row – but James IV saw the potential for a harbour there and deemed that a building yard and dock be built, along with a ropeworks and houses for the workers.

The acclaim of the Great Michael spread throughout Europe – and the name of Newhaven with it. But in 1510, a year before its launch there was such concern over the economic threat the new harbour posed to Edinburgh's port of Leith that the capital made an offer the king could not refuse and integrated both communities.

As the years passed, Newhaven's

character developed in different and more colourful directions. Of course, its links with the sea are timeless (the giant eight-pointed star at Newhaven's Starbank Park is the Star of the Sea, symbolic of a ship's compass) and from its magnificent grandstand prospect overlooking the Firth, the port has had its fair share of historical highlights...

The Romans sailed passed Newhaven en route to their Cramond base, in the 14th century it was designated 'Our Lady's Port of Grace', dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St James, in 1550 the village witnessed the splendid sight of 60 stately galleys at anchor as Mary of Guise left for France to visit her daughter, later Mary, Queen of Scots.

A more grim sight is indicated in an account in the burgh records dated July, 1555: 'Item, for cords to bind and hang four Englishmen at Leith and Newhaven, item, for drink to them that made the gibbet'.

The nearby Fairy Holes was once a gathering place of witches and figured in the trial of Eufame McCulzane for witchcraft in 1591. Apparently Eufame had attended a witches' convention there, with the Diel himself among the company.

A massive pier of chains, 500

feet long and four feet wide, was built in 1821 to accommodate the ferries that plied between Queensferry, Stirling and around Leith because water still provided the easiest and cheapest medium of transport. It is remembered by the Old Chain Pier pub in Trinity Crescent.

Nowadays it is as a fishing village that Newhaven is best remembered. The Newhaven herring fishery was begun in 1793, but it was the Newhaven fishwives, the yellow canaries of their breed, in their head-turning dresses, who became famous. They were the most brightly coloured of all the fisherwomen.

A linen or cotton cap, bound with a strong napkin tied below the chin helped to support her creel (fish basket), a woollen jacket, normally blue and voluminous petticoats with the outer garment usually bright yellow with stripes was worn short enough to display plenty of stocking ankle.

They graced Edinburgh for years

and were a friendly and familiar sight, although perhaps their street cries have been heard for the last time.

Even the fishwives' choirs that brought pleasure until recent times seem to have disappeared along with the Forth herring that brought them fame.

The Newhaven fishmarket that once serviced Edinburgh is also closed, but some of the structure remains and is home to a little museum reflecting the days when Newhaven fish and the fishwives

were the silver and yellow darlings of the Forth. ●



■ Creels ready for the return of the Newhaven fishing fleet.

Ultimate insult to a king's memory



■ The Standard Life building in London – due for demolition and archaeological study. It covers the site of the church where James's head was buried.

After he was killed at Flodden, James IV's body became a trophy that was passed from hand to English hand

James IV's last few moments in life were spent fighting his way valiantly towards the English commander at the battle of Flodden. He had been wounded several times, and had seen his son killed earlier in the fight. He probably knew that thousands of his countrymen had already died on the bloody field on that fateful day in 1513.

But James was determined to try to kill Surrey before he himself succumbed. He got to within a spear's length of the English commander, and was shouting his defiance when an archer at Surrey's shoulder drew his bow and shot an arrow into James's open mouth.

And so died one of Scotland's most beloved kings. His body was found the following day, among a deep pile of corpses. He was lying beside

the little burn at the bottom of the hill, next to where the modern farm road runs south across the eastern fringe of the battlefield.

The common soldiers were buried in two giant pits dug on the field itself, one to the west of the battle's memorial, one by the little church at Branxton.

James was recognised, and his body was taken inside the church. He had several arrow wounds, other than the one which actually killed him, and one of his hands was hanging by a strip of skin. An English bill-hook had also left a hideous gash across his neck.

For his part in the bloody victory at Flodden, Surrey was made Duke of Norfolk and had an augmentation to his coat of arms, A Lion.



■ The Duke of Norfolk's triumphant addition to his coat of arms was a Lion Rampant with an arrow pierced through its mouth – an obvious allusion to how the brave Scots king had fallen on Flodden field (right).



Rampant was added pierced through the mouth by an arrow

James's body was carried to Berwick, where it was disembowelled and embalmed. It was conveyed to Newcastle, then to Durham. The Bishop of Durham sent a letter to a friend in London, stating: "Surrey has carried the body of the (Scots) king to York."

He also mentioned that Surrey had the sword of James, as well as several other personal possessions

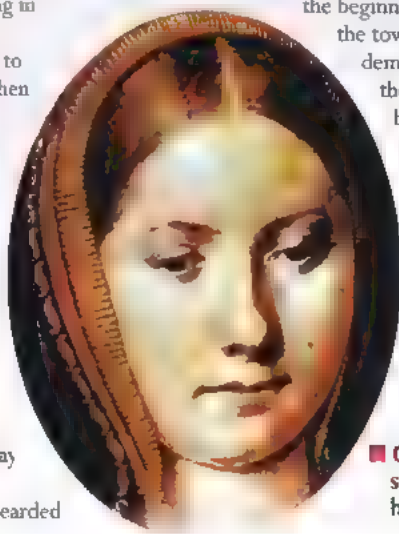
The restless body of James then appeared in London, wrapped in lead. Catherine of Aragon sent the bloody surcoat from the body to her husband, Henry VIII, who was fighting in Flanders, with her congratulations.

The body of James was then taken to the monastery of Sheen in Surrey. When the monastery was dissolved, the Duke of Suffolk used it for lodgings, and James's body was kept in a room used for storing timber.

The great surveyor of London, John Stow, saw it there, and in his book, published in 1598, he said "I have been shown the body so lapped in lead close to the head and body." He added "Since that time workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head."

The site of Sheen monastery is today under a golf course

James's head, still red-haired and bearded



due to the embalming, came to the attention of Lancelot Young, master glazier to Elizabeth I of England

He took it to his house in Wood Street in the City of London, keeping it on display as a conversation piece. It was reported that the head gave off 'a pleasing scent'

He later gave the head to the sexton of St Michael's Church in Wood Street. The sexton was clearing old bones out of the crypt of the church and burying them in a grave in the churchyard, and the head of the King of Scots was unceremoniously thrown in among them

The church of St Michael survived till the beginning of the 20th century, the tower not being demolished till 1965. Today the site is covered by a building owned by Standard Life of Edinburgh – a strange twist, as James raised his army for Flodden on Edinburgh's Burgh Muir

That building itself is due for demolition, but there are plans for archaeological

research and for a plaque to James's memory to be erected on the replacement building. London's College of Arms has a sword, ring and dagger said to have been taken from the body of James when it was discovered at Flodden

But experts have declared that the sword and dagger are a generation or two too late in style to have been used at Flodden, so there is some doubt as to their authenticity

The ring, however, is of gold and turquoise, and old accounts tell how James was sent a ring by the Queen of France, beseeching him to "advance a yard into England, and break a lance for my sake" this under the terms of the Auld Alliance

The ring was described as gold with a turquoise stone, so perhaps the College of Arms has the very ring which caused a whole generation of Scotland's manhood to be wiped out in a matter of hours on Flodden's fateful field

The battlefield stands a few miles into England, south of Coldstream on the River Tweed. It is signposted from the A697. The on-site memorial has signboards explaining how the battle developed.

The view back to Scotland can be seen over your shoulder as you stand facing the battlefield. It was the last view seen by many Scots as they died on English soil. ●

■ Catherine of Aragon sent James's bloody surcoat with her congratulations to her husband, Henry VIII, fighting in Flanders.

A VICTIM OF THE



■ Sheila and Maxwell Garvie enjoyed a life of luxury.



■ Max's mistress: Trudi Birse, sister of Sheila's lover, with husband Fred.

It was a truly fatal attraction when a lusty game ended in love – and the sex-mad husband who started it all had to ‘disappear’. His scheming wife and her lover never dreamed, however, that her mother would reveal their ‘perfect’ crime

The Swinging Sixties were summed up by the lusty lifestyle of wealthy farmer Maxwell Robert Garvie. He began a nudist colony, made sexual demands of his reluctant young wife Sheila, took erotic photos of her and pushed her into the arms of another man.

But it all went wrong when Garvie was brutally murdered by his wife and her new lover.

This was to lead to one of the most sensational Scottish trials of the 20th century, with explicit detail that shocked the strict God-fearing North-East community and awed the rest of the country.

Big spending Max – as he was known – had his own profitable farm at West Cairnbeg, in the rich red soil of the Kincardineshire Mearns – the famous setting for Lewis Grassie Gibbon's classic *Sunset Song*. He was 21, and one of the most eligible bachelors around, when he met Sheila Watson at a dance at Stonehaven Town Hall one summer's night in 1955.

As the 18-year-old daughter of a stonemason on the royal estate at Balmoral, she had been a maid at the castle. When she was 13 she played Queen Victoria at a pageant at Aboyne Castle, watched by members of the Royal Family. The riches and privileges Sheila saw then awakened a yearning for the trappings of wealth.

Max saw a shapely, attractive girl. She saw a fast route to a life of luxury. In June, 1955, they married only months after their first meeting, and she moved into the spacious farmhouse. At first all

was well, as she easily took on the role of the social hostess among other young farming couples. Sheila enjoyed the good life – with maids, three cars, a private plane and cocktail parties. She happily gave birth to two daughters and a son – all by 1964.

But even by 1962 there were warning signs. Max was unpredictable, easily bored, more sexually demanding. He wanted to be part of the Swinging Sixties.

Sheila became depressed as he took more drink and light drugs, consuming as many as five bottles of whisky a week while his faithful grieve kept the farm going.

They met up with 21-year-old bearded Brian Tevendale and Max encouraged his wife to start an affair because he was already having his own relationship with attractive Trudi Birse, Tevendale's sister, who was married to a policeman.

It was a fateful meeting for Sheila and Tevendale, drawn together by the man they were both upholding in cold blood in his own bed. Because they ended up falling in love with each other, a factor Max hadn't accounted for in his machinations. Gradually, the quartet began falling apart – with explosive rows, departures and returns.

Max threatened to put Sheila into a clinic in London and when she turned for help to her lawyer mother and a minister, they advised her to stay at home for the sake of the children.

By now Max had realised to his consternation

SWINGING SIXTIES



■ Sheila's lover Brian Tevendale, who shot Max through the neck.



■ As Trudi Birse and husband left court, angry crowds surrounded them.



■ Sheila's mother Edith Watson, who 'sacrificed' her daughter.

how his wife and Tevendale felt for each other. It wasn't just sex, as with him and Trudi – it was serious. Something different, something worrying.

He made a point of having a confidential chat with Sheila's mother, Mrs Edith Watson, a sensible grey-haired little lady. Fearing the worst, he asked her: "If anything ever happens to me, please look after my children and see they never come into contact with Tevendale."

But Sheila and Tevendale's murderous plans, made up weeks before, were already in hand as Max drove home on the evening of May 14, 1968.

They had to get rid of him – make him 'disappear' – because her £55,000 life insurance policy on him obviously wouldn't pay out if he was found murdered. Tevendale had already asked a young friend, Alan Peters, to help him with transport 'to get rid of a bloke'. That evening they hid their car on the road at the back of the quiet, isolated farmhouse.

They went into the garage and Sheila let them into the house. Tevendale picked up a .22 rifle from behind a door, and she showed them into the sitting room. They had drinks before she took them upstairs to hide in a spare room.

When he arrived home, Max as usual started drinking and taking pills, and she supplied them. This time, when he wanted sex, she agreed. The more exhausted he was the better. When Max finally fell into a slumber in bed, his wife went to the other room and showed Tevendale and Peters the bedroom. She stood in the doorway in case her three children – sleeping nearby, woke up.

Tevendale crushed Max's skull by one heavy blow with the butt of the gun, then finished him off with a bullet through the neck.

The two men wrapped the body in a ground

sheet and heaved it to the waiting car. Tevendale had already picked a burial spot where the body would never be found, a hidden underground tunnel running from a quarry to the west side of Lauriston Castle near the village of St Cyrus. They dumped it there and covered it with stones.

Sheila told friends and police that Max had just gone off as he had done before – and had not been in touch. Peters was too scared he would be the next victim to open his mouth. The lovers thought they had got away with the perfect murder. But neither had taken account of her mother, of all people. Mrs Watson had moved into West Carnbeg to look after her grandchildren, cooking their meals and washing their clothes.

At first she believed her daughter's story. But as Sheila kept flitting back and forward, staying one night at home with her children, the next night with Tevendale in Aberdeen, Mrs Watson became more and more suspicious.

Then one evening Sheila indicated to her that Max was dead, and not from natural causes. The old lady agonised over what to do. And when Sheila said she was going to take the children away to set up house with her lover, Mrs Watson remembered her promise to Max.

On August 14, 1968, in a state of near collapse, she made a mother's ultimate sacrifice – she turned in her daughter in to the police. She said later: "I didn't want Tevendale near the

children, I did what I had to do. I sacrificed my daughter for the promise I made to Max."

That day Sheila and Tevendale were arrested and Peters a few days later. Shortly after, Tevendale took officers to the burial chamber.

The trial of all three began on November 19, 1968, at the High Court in Aberdeen. Hundreds queued to hear the dramatic evidence. One woman juror fainted at the obvious distress of Sheila's mother in the witness box.

There were shocked gasps when Max's skull was dramatically taken out of a box and held aloft. All three blamed each other. Summing up on December 2, Lord Thomson told the jury: "There has been a picture painted of a quartet who had a pattern of sexual relationships and activity that you may regard as falling below even the standards of the so-called permissive society." But he warned them such a pattern was "wholly irrelevant" that his was a court of law, not of morals.

It took the jury only 58 minutes to find the two lovers guilty of murdering Max. Peters was freed on a not proven verdict. The couple kissed and fondly embraced before being led away. There was talk of them marrying while in jail, but they were never to meet again. Three months later, she wrote to him: "I have decided to have nothing more to do with you ever again."

After 10 years in jail Sheila was released in 1978, and Tevendale three months later. ●



■ Older and wiser: Sheila after serving time.

He made the sleep that killed the pain

This daring Scots physician who tested knock-out drugs on himself was rewarded by royal approval

**SIR JAMES YOUNG SIMPSON
(1811-70)**

In a street house in Edinburgh New Town in 1846 a group of friends would often be found sitting around a table sniffing at 'noxious substances'

This was no sad and secret coven of drug addicts, but a party of doctors conducting serious research. They gathered frequently at the home in Queen Street of James Simpson, a noted physician and obstetrician, who was determined to remove as far as possible the curse of pain from surgery and childbirth.

They were trying out on themselves various chemicals and poisons and looking for one which would satisfactorily knock them out. They wanted to discover the science of anaesthesia.

The teaching and practice of surgery had unproved over previous centuries when it had not been regarded as a respectable following. At one time, sufferers had been 'opened up' by barber surgeons and folk doctors more in hope than in certainty of a cure. Part of a student's training was to watch these gory events. After such an operation on a patient's cranium, a teacher observed "One student fainted as soon as he saw the brain pulsating. So my advice is that no-one should undertake an operation until he has first seen it performed."

Sound thinking, perhaps, but hardly reassuring. By the 19th century the anatomist's understanding of the human body had advanced considerably and medicine had become a noble profession. But still surgery and difficult



■ James Simpson's mission was to remove, as far as possible, the curse of pain from surgery and childbirth.

childbirth involved pain and dangers of shock. If patients could be anaesthetised in a controlled way, the strain for patient and doctor would be significantly eased.

In America, surgeons had been experimenting with the chemical called diethyl ether as a knockout drop and this was one of the substances which Simpson and his friends tried out on themselves in Queen Street. Later, though, they tried chloroform, and slid unconscious under the table.

"This," said Simpson when he came round, "is far stronger and better than ether."

But when it came to chloroform use in childbirth, Simpson had a moral hurdle to overcome. Many people believed painful childbirth was decreed by God. They called it "the curse of Eve".

However, Simpson's supporters were able to quote from the Old Testament that when God took a rib from Adam to create Eve, he first put the man into a "deep sleep" – that is, applied anaesthesia. There was little answer to that, and the religious controversy faded away.

Simpson became the first obstetrician to use anaesthesia in childbirth, the first baby delivered by this means being named Wilhelmina Carstairs. Then in 1847, Simpson was appointed Queen Victoria's Scottish physician; and when he delivered her seventh son, Prince Leopold, using chloroform, the technique had an unassailable seal of approval. In 1866, he was made a baronet for his services to medicine.

Like a striking number of Scotland's medical pioneers, James Young Simpson came from a humble background. The seventh son of a banker in Bathgate, he showed such promise as a scholar that he was able to begin medical studies at Edinburgh University from the age of 14. The thesis he wrote for his degree was of such quality that he was quickly appointed assistant to a professor at the medical school, and he later went on to operate a large and successful practice in the capital.

His medical skills had raised him to a high point in Scottish society. Long before the development of the X-ray, he foresaw a device "which may render the body sufficiently diaphanous for inspection by the surgeon's eye". Yet it was 15 years after his death that the principle was discovered.

Coincidentally, as chloroform came into use, another Scots surgeon, James Esdaile, developed hypnosis as a technique for anaesthetising patients.

But Simpson's discovery became general throughout medicine. When he died, his family declined the honour of burial in Westminster Abbey and he was interred at Warriston, Edinburgh. He is remembered by a statue in Princes Street Gardens. ●

Medical fame by accident

NORMAN DOTT (1897-1973)

A strange but happy irony is that Scotland's most famous neuro-surgeon became interested in medicine only when he ended up in hospital after a motor-cycle accident.

Norman Dott was a young engineering apprentice at the time, but he became so fascinated by the work of doctors and surgeons that he quickly changed direction and enrolled as a medical student at Edinburgh University. This, the city where he was born and where he was educated at George Heriot's School, was to be where he would spend most of his working life.

Graduating in 1919, he became a junior doctor at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and a part-time lecturer in physiology. Awarded a Rockefeller Fellowship to study and gain experience in Boston, he was so inspired by the work of neuro-surgeon Harvey Cushing that he determined to make this area his own speciality.

Back in Edinburgh and practising at the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, he developed this interest

at the same time. When a surgical neurology ward was opened at the Royal Infirmary in 1937, Dott was appointed as its head.

Perhaps because of his earlier interest in mechanical engineering, Dott designed new surgical equipment to carry out some of his innovative techniques. During the Second World War he established a brain injuries unit at Bangour, West Lothian, and his work among wounded servicemen and women brought him a well-deserved high public profile, unusual in a surgeon.

His genuine interest in his patients' needs also increased his popularity. He became Professor of Neuro-surgery in 1947 and was made a CBE the following year.

At Edinburgh's Western General Hospital in 1960, he created a new department which won a worldwide reputation. Norman Dott, the one-time motor-bike accident patient, was one of Britain's three top surgeons pioneering the complex science of neurology.

Thousands turned out to mourn him at his funeral in Edinburgh.



■ The Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Edinburgh, where Norman Dott developed an interest in neuro-surgery.

War hero's glory was common compassion

SIR JOHN PRINGLE (1707-82)

British forces were involved in a largely forgotten conflict in Germany in the middle of the 18th century, called the War of the Austrian Succession, in which they sided with the Hanoverians against the French.

A Scot called John Pringle was the allied armies' physician-general, and it was almost certainly his suggestion to his commander, the Earl of Stair, that military hospitals on either side should be regarded as neutral territory and immune from attack.

This proposal was put to the opposing French commander, who agreed, and this pact was honoured throughout the campaign. In fact, it became standard practice in European wars thereafter and Pringle has since been regarded as the founder of the ideals of the Red Cross.

Born in Roxburgh, the younger son of a baronet, John Pringle studied at St Andrews and Edinburgh intending to pursue a career in business. This took

him to Amsterdam, where a lecture by the celebrated physician Boerhaave inspired him to change direction and study medicine at Leyden. He graduated MD in 1730 and practised for a while in Paris and Edinburgh before starting his succession of military appointments.

He transformed medicine and hygiene in the army, and his book *Observations on the Diseases of the Army*, published in 1752, was regarded throughout Europe as a transforming work. The sanitary measures he introduced conquered the military scourges of dysentery and typhus, which killed more men than bullets.

"Few physicians," says the *History of National Biography*, "have rendered a more definite and brilliant service to the science of humanity."

It seems ironical, though, that Pringle – a Scot – was recalled to Britain by the Duke of Cumberland and accompanied his forces in defeating and persecuting the Jacobites throughout the Highlands during and after the Battle of Culloden.

■ Cross marks the spot at Flodden – where the Scots came over the hills to be wiped out by English bill-hooks.



Defeat that is hard to contemplate



One of the tragedies of James IV was that he never knew his father, says biker historian David R Ross

James IV was taken to the port of Leith with the rest of the victorious army after the Battle of Sauchieburn. When Sir Andrew Wood, the Admiral of the Scottish Navy, walked into the room, young James, seeing his noble bearing, asked: "Sir, are you my father?"

This sad scene shows how much James had been alienated from his family, and the question brought tears to the eyes of the brave Sir Andrew, who already knew James III was dead. But Sir Andrew Wood was to prove a stalwart warrior in the service of James IV, just as he had been to his father.

One of Sir Andrew's great victories took place when three English men o' war tried to intercept his two ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, in the Firth of Forth.

After all, Henry VII of England had put £1,000 reward – to be paid annually for life – on Sir Andrew's head. The battle lasted for two arduous days until the English ships finally surrendered in the Tay off Dundee.

James's appetite for naval matters was obviously whetted by such deeds.

At Airth – today, a little upstream from the Kincardine Bridge over the Forth – James developed a royal

dockyard, which was watched over by Airth Castle. So that it would be kept in good repair for this, he granted £100 for the partial rebuilding of the castle – and although it is now a hotel, this renovated part is still visible.

Airth today is a sleepy little village, standing inland from the river due to modern land reclaiming, and it is strange to equate the place with such a hive of Medieval manufacture.

James was a man of diverse tastes, not only dabbling in advancements in the war machinery, but also in alchemy and related experimental ventures.

A poignant reminder survives today of James's existence as a man with dreams, fears and loves, just like the rest of us. He had fallen in love with the fair Margaret Drummond, daughter of the lord at Drummond Castle near Crieff. Powerful men in Scotland did not like this relationship, and wished to make sure there were no impediments to James's proposed marriage to Margaret Tudor of England. The Scottish Margaret and two of her sisters were poisoned at Drummond Castle in 1502.

They were buried within Dunblane Cathedral, where three bluish marble slabs are pointed out as their last

resting place. There have been tales that James and Margaret Drummond had been secretly married, but these would seem to be later inventions.

Dunblane Cathedral dates back to the time of David I of Scotland and is open to the public. It stands in the centre of the town of the same name above the Allan Water.

James's end came in 1513 at the ill-fated Battle of Flodden which took place on English soil, just a few miles south of Coldstream, the nearest town on the Scottish side of the border.

It was Scotland's worst defeat in battle. If you stand at the modern monument today, looking up at Branxton Hill where the Scots came over the edge and down to the waiting English bill-hooks and annihilation, you will know that it is a place for some contemplation.

The annual 'Common Riding' of some Border towns – such as Selkirk and Hawick – have their genesis in the carnage of Flodden and its aftermath.

At one such event, I heard this remark as the riders mounted their horses:

"Remember lads, you are Scots and you are Borderers. And ye didna' come fae nothing!" ●

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of Advocates p12/13/14 William Dunbar and The Cock and Jasp: Mercat Press; Great Hall, Linlithgow Palace: HS; David Lindsay: SNPG; p15/16/17 "The Valois Tapestries" Unidentified Festival, An Assault Upon An Elephant: Uffizi Gallery, Florence (Photo:Scala) Courtesy of Michael Lynch; Reconstruction Drawing: David Simon: HS. p18/19 Attributed to Simon Bening, Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor, "James IV at Prayer", Osterreiches, Staatsbibliothek, Vienna; Whithorn: Historic Scotland. p20/21/22 Carta Marina: Orkney Museum; Great Michael and Yellow Carvel: NMS. p24/25 Insurance Building: David Ross. p30 Flodden Memorial: English Heritage.

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James V played on the Pope's fear that Scotland would abandon the Catholic faith, and reaped a rich reward.

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By the 16th century the Church had established itself at the centre of commerce, education and the arts.

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